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ACTION AF-01

RELEASED IN PART  
B1, 1.4(B), 1.4(D)

INFO	LOG-00	AID-01	AMAD-01	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00
	EB-01	EUR-01	OIGO-01	HA-09	H-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	IO-16	L-01	ADS-00	NSAE-00	OIC-02	PA-01	PRS-01
	P-01	RP-10	SP-00	SR-00	SS-00	STR-01	TRSE-00
	USIE-00	RPE-01	/051W				

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O 071308Z MAY 94  
FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0221  
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE  
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AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI IMMEDIATE  
WHITEHOUSE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KAMPALA 003639

DEPT FOR SECRETARY FROM JOHN SHATTUCK  
USUN FOR AMB. ALBRIGHT  
GENEVA FOR AMB SPIEGEL  
NSC FOR DON STEINBERG

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FROM A/S JOHN SHATTUCK

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR  
TAGS: PHUM, PREF, RW, TZ, OAU, BY, UG  
SUBJECT: A/S SHATTUCK MEETING WITH UGANDA PRESIDENT  
MUSEVENI

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY. A/S JOHN SHATTUCK, DAS BRUNSON  
MCKINLEY, AMBASSADOR RAWSON AND SPECIAL ASSISTANT

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
REVIEW AUTHORITY: ARCHIE M BOLSTER  
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)  
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 7 MAY 2015  
DATE/CASE ID: 04 NOV 2011 201005065

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JUDITH KAUFMANN, ALONG WITH AMBASSADOR CARSON, MET WITH PRESIDENT MUSEVENI FOR AN HOUR ON THE EVENING OF MAY 6 TO DISCUSS APPROACHES TO RESOLVING THE ISSUES THAT PROLONG THE FIGHTING AND KILLING OF CIVILIANS IN RWANDA. MUSEVENI STRESSED THREE POINTS THAT HE BELIEVES MUST BE INCLUDED IN ANY AGREEMENT ON RWANDA: 1) A COMMISSION OF INQUIRY MUST BE ESTABLISHED TO DETERMINE RESPONSIBILITY FOR VIOLENCE AGAINST CIVILIANS; 2) A REGIONAL MEETING SHOULD BE SET UP WHICH MUST INCLUDE REPRESENTATIVES FROM BOTH SIDES IN RWANDA; AND 3) AN INTERNATIONAL MISSION SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED WITH SPECIFIC AND LIMITED GOALS, AND ADEQUATE AUTHORITY AND EQUIPMENT TO MEET THOSE GOALS. A JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THESE POINTS WILL BE ISSUED ON MAY 7. TEXT WILL BE REPORTED SEPTEL. END SUMMARY.

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INTRODUCTION

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3. ASSISTANT SECRETARY JOHN SHATTUCK, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY BRUNSON MCKINLEY, AMBASSADOR RAWSON AND SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY JUDITH KAUFMANN MET WITH PRESIDENT MUSEVENI FOR AN HOUR THE EVENING OF MAY 6. ALSO ATTENDING ON THE AMERICAN SIDE WERE AMBASSADOR CARSON AND ECONOFF BERG (NOTETAKER). FOREIGN MINISTER SSEMOGERERE, DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER AGARD DIDI, AND VARIOUS OFFICIALS FROM THE FOREIGN MINISTRY AND PROTOCOL ATTENDED ON THE UGANDAN SIDE.

4. ASSISTANT SECRETARY JOHN SHATTUCK OPENED THE DISCUSSION BY DESCRIBING U.S. EFFORTS TO CONFER WITH REGIONAL LEADERS TO SEE WHAT CAN BE DONE TO STOP THE SLAUGHTER IN RWANDA. HE PRAISED PRESIDENT MUSEVENI'S EFFORTS TO BRING VARIOUS PARTICIPANTS TOGETHER TO WORK FOR A CEASE FIRE AND MUSEVENI'S FIVE POINT PLAN. A/S SHATTUCK DETAILED U.S. ACTIVITIES DESIGNED TO PROTECT CIVILIANS AND REFUGEES, INCLUDING U.S. HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE COMMITMENTS, AND U.S. EFFORTS TO GET A UN SECURITY COUNCIL ARMS EMBARGO RESOLUTION.

5. PRESIDENT MUSEVENI RESPONDED BY EXPLAINING WHAT HE SEES TO BE THE WEAKNESSES IN HOW THINGS ARE BEING

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HAMDLED. FIRST, HE BELIEVES THAT THE PROBLEM IS  
BEING APPROACHED IN A SHALLOW WAY -- IN THE PRESENT  
RATHER THAN ADDRESSING THE SOURCES OF THE PROBLEM  
WHICH HE SEES AS SOCIAL PROBLEMS THAT TURNED INTO  
ETHNIC PROBLEMS BY MISHANDLING AND THE LACK OF  
PROSECUTION OF THOSE WHO WERE IN THE WRONG IN THE  
PAST. SECOND, MUSEVENI SEES THE DISENFRANCHISEMENT  
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OF A HUGE SECTION OF THE RWANDAN POPULATION (THOSE  
WHO LIVED OUTSIDE RWANDA FOR AS MUCH AS 30 YEARS AS  
REFUGEES IN UGANDA) AS BEING A CAUSE OF THE CURRENT  
DIFFICULTY. HE NOTED THAT IN 1959, AS NOW, SOCIAL  
INEQUALITY WAS FOLLOWED BY GENOCIDE.

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8. MUSEVENI INSISTS THAT A LEGAL METHOD FOR  
PUNISHING THOSE RESPONSIBLE MUST BE INCLUDED IN ANY  
AGREEMENT AND THAT THOSE RESPONSIBLE MUST NOT BE

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ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE IN A FUTURE GOVERNMENT. BASED ON HIS CONVERSATION WITH MWINYI, MUSEVENI LEARNED THAT THE CURRENT DRAFT AGREEMENT DOES NOT INCLUDE SETTING UP A MECHANISM TO ADDRESS THIS ISSUE. HE STRESSED THAT THE INSTABILITY OF THE CURRENT SITUATION CANNOT BE MUFFLED UNDER A CEASE FIRE -- IT IS ESSENTIAL TO RESTORE BASIC STABILITY BY ASSURING THAT THE TERRORIST ACTION AND THE GENOCIDE WILL BE INVESTIGATED.

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LO. A/S SHATTUCK AGREED THAT THOSE WHO ARE DIRECTING VIOLENCE AGAINST CIVILIANS MUST BE IDENTIFIED, AND  
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MENTIONED THAT THERE ARE MODELS SUCH AS THE TRUTH COMMISSION IN EL SALVADOR WHICH COULD BE USED. WITHOUT THIS KIND OF INVESTIGATION, A CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES IS DIFFICULT.

11. A MISSION TO INVESTIGATE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN RWANDA, WHICH WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT FORUM FOR BRINGING THE ATTENTION OF THE WORLD TO THOSE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES, WILL BE DISCUSSED IN A/S SHATTUCK'S CONSULTATIONS WITH UN HUMAN RIGHTS HIGH COMMISSIONER AYALA LASSO IN GENEVA. A/S SHATTUCK ALSO NOTED THAT THERE IS GROWING INTEREST IN A UNHRC SPECIAL SESSION ON RWANDA.

THE NEED FOR A REGIONAL SUMMIT  
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12. MUSEVENI INSISTS THAT A REGIONAL MEETING IS ESSENTIAL AND THAT THE CURRENT SYSTEM OF SHUTTling BETWEEN LOCATIONS FOR MEETINGS WHICH DO NOT INCLUDE BOTH SIDES CAN NEVER BRING ABOUT AN AGREEMENT. IN ATTEMPTING TO FIND A SOLUTION, ALL SIDES, HUTU AND TUTSI, RPF AND GOR, MUST BE PRESENT. HE FEELS THAT A REGIONAL MEETING SHOULD BE BROUGHT ABOUT THROUGH THE FACILITATOR AT ARUSHA, PRESIDENT MWINYI. MUSEVENI

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SAID THAT THE "MEDIATOR," PRESIDENT MOBUTU, MUST LET THE "FACILITATOR," MWINYI, DO HIS JOB, BUT THAT THE MEDIATOR WILL NOT LEAVE MWINYI ALONE. MUSEVENI PROMISED TO WORK WITH THE RPF, WHO HE DESCRIBED AS "RIGID THESE DAYS," TO ATTEND.

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13. A/S SHATTUCK REQUESTED PRESIDENT MUSEVENI TO PUSH THE RPF TO GET THEM TO COME TO A REGIONAL SUMMIT, AND STRESSED THE POSITIVE EFFECT AN IMMEDIATE CEASE FIRE WOULD HAVE ON ANY POTENTIAL SUMMIT. THERE IS A CHANCE TO USE THE OUTCOME OF THE RECENT ARUSHA MEETING AS A WAY OF WORKING AT THE FIELD COMMANDER LEVEL TO ACHIEVE A CEASE FIRE.

INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION

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14.

EXTERNAL, OR INTERNATIONAL, DIMENSION MUST NOT ALLOW ITSELF TO BE USED TO PREVENT INTERNAL RECONCILIATION

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AMONG THE VARIOUS GROUPS.

15. MUSEVENI STATED THAT INTERNATIONAL AIMS SHOULD BE  
1) HUMANITARIAN, AND 2) TO PROMOTE DIALOGUE AMONG THE  
GROUPS INVOLVED. ANY INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE SHOULD  
NOT ATTEMPT TO GOVERN OR IMPOSE AUTHORITY, AS  
OCCURRED IN SOMALIA, AND MUST BE LIMITED SPECIFICALLY

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TO HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS, INCLUDING RESCUING CIVILIANS, AND PROMOTING DIALOGUE. MUSEVENI ALSO BELIEVES THAT THE EFFORT SHOULD NOT BE INDEFINITE, BUT SHOULD HAVE A FIXED TIME LIMIT, SAY, SIX MONTHS.

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16. IN ADDITION TO A SPECIFIC AND CAREFULLY DEFINED GOAL, PRESIDENT MUSEVENI SAID THE INTERNATIONAL FORCE MUST HAVE THE EQUIPMENT AND AUTHORITY TO ENFORCE THAT GOAL. FOR EXAMPLE, IF THE FORCE IS TO EVACUATE REFUGEES, ANYONE STOPPING THE EFFORT TO EVACUATE MUST BE OPPOSED WITH SUBSTANTIAL FORCE. IF THE USE OF MILITARY FORCE IS TOO LOOSELY DEFINED OR TOO AMBITIOUS, IT WILL DISCREDIT THE INTERNATIONAL EFFORT; IF TARGETS ARE LIMITED, CHANCES OF MAKING MISTAKES ARE FEWER.

17. THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY NOTED THAT THE U.S.  
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CONCEPT FOR SUCH A PRESENCE IS UNDER DISCUSSION, BUT MIGHT INVOLVE PROTECTING REFUGEES AND HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS IN THE BORDER AREAS, AND EVACUATING UNARMED CIVILIANS THREATENED BY VIOLENCE TARGETED AGAINST THEM. THE GOALS OF AN INTERNATIONAL MISSION MUST BE HUMANITARIAN AND MUST HAVE AUTHORITY TO ACHIEVE THE DEFINED MISSION, BUT NOT TO EFFECT GOVERNANCE.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE  
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18. A/S SHATTUCK PROPOSED THAT HE AND THE PRESIDENT ISSUE A JOINT COMMUNIQUE OR STATEMENT AS A VALUABLE PUBLIC DECLARATION. THE COMMUNIQUE WAS ISSUED MAY 7, AND IS BEING REPORTED SEPTEL.

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